1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

765 535 After the buffalo is killed dancing takes place at the funeral of a male. The men only dance and they may begin soon after the killing of the buffalo, while other ceremonies are still in progress. In the dancing the same tall pole (*tadri* or *tadrsi*) is used as is carried by the Teivali man who wears the cloak of the *narskedr*. It is a tall pole which, it was said, might sometimes be as much as 39 feet in length. I only saw a *tadri* at one funeral, when it was much smaller. It is decorated with rings of cowries, which are called *ntrpul*, the ornaments in general being called *tadri asteram* (see Fig. 67).

[439] The pole is procured from Malabar through the Kurumbas. It is used at the funeral of males only of both the Teivaliol and Tartharol, and is burnt at the end of the *azaramkedr*.

In the only dance which I had the opportunity of seeing the men danced within the circular wall surrounding the funeral hut. In this case the floor of the enclosure was below the general level of the ground. The men formed a circle and danced round in slow step; one man said the name of the slaughtered buffalo—in this case, Purkirsi—and another repeated this name; then the first man said "*hau! hau!*" which was repeated by the second man.

After a time one of the men took the *tadri* and they danced round in a similar way, taking the pole with them as they danced (*i.e.*, they did not dance round the pole).

After the dancing is over, food is distributed to all the people present and most return to their homes, while the remainder wait at the funeral place till the following morning, when are held the final ceremonies, which are known as the *azaramkedr*.

THE AZARAMKEDR

765 This is the name applied to the ceremonies connected with the final burning of the remains and burial of the ashes. After food has been distributed at the *marvainolkedr*, many of those attending the funeral return home. The remainder stay at the spot during the evening, those nearly related to the deceased lamenting in the usual fashion almost continuously. At a funeral attended by Samuel, the people took

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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occasion, and Mr. Thurston[1] has recorded examples of several such compositions.

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Dancing takes place at the funeral ceremonies, and exhibitions of these or other dances are sometimes given by the Todas. The only dancing I saw was at a funeral and it was of the simplest possible description, the men who took part forming a circle and moving slowly round and round.

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The only musical instrument of the Todas is a simple flute, called the *buguri*. It is shown in Fig. 68, where it is being played by the man on the right. The instrument is not much used by the Todas and is not, so far as I know played on any ceremonial occasion. The music at the funeral ceremonies is always performed by Kotas.

[1] *Bull.* iv. p. 7.

CHAP. XXI.

765 768 177

ceremonial, and long before these guests have begun to arrive, the family of the deceased have a little private ordinance of their own; in burning all his personal property, such as his stick or staff, the honnu or milk vessel, and clothes: also a *flute* or flageolet, and a model of *a bow with bamboo 'strings,' and arrows.*[2] I could not ascertain any reason whatever for this musical instrument and these spurious weapons being burnt. Be it particularly borne in mind that the Todas have no sense of music and do not possess a flute in the whole tribe: that they never hunt, and have no weapons of the chase. These toys are made by the Kotas entirely for the occasion. Thus it was, I experienced some difficulty in buying the bow, which will be found in photograph No. 15. The first question asked of the man who purchased it for me from the Kota, was 'Who is dead?'

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The opening public ceremony of the day, is a kind of dance performed by from twenty to fifty men. The dance I witnessed was monotonous enough. It consisted of the body of men, keeping step whilst striding round and round like the spokes of a wheel; each spoke having three men arm in arm: and all exclaiming, rather than shouting, 'A! U! A! U!'[3] in time with their steps. I could trace nothing symbolic in the exhibition except that strange number three, which I notice in all religious matters, to be constantly appearing. It may be that the dance and shout are both merely a Toda mode of giving vent and expression to a festive state of mind.

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Whilst this dance is being carried on by the men, the women prepare food in the hut described in the last Chapter, which has been repaired or renewed for this occasion. Here all the guests assemble, the two sexes sitting apart. The women of the family serve out the supplies from the diminutive door to

[2] Captain Forsyth, in his 'Highlands of Central India,' writes of the Bygas, 'their bows are made entirely of the bamboo, "string" and all.'

[3] The Toda word for *I shout*, is 'A! U! bisharthken,' or *I call out A! U!*

[i.e., the bara kĕdu, or second funeral --Analyst]

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1] A pair of brass armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Bēguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end. The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs (*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hok, Hok*.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mūe*, father-in-law,* which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, to settle at Ootacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil. *Tenure of land.*

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had paid annually a light pasture tax for about 190 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirāi fanams*‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pūthkoḍ*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirāi fanam* = 0r. 4a. 8p. of present money.

[1] [Plate 5A -- Analyst]

but on one occasion I saw some old gold coins and a silver medal of the Nilagiri District Exhibition of 1869. The ceremonies occupy part of three days. The first is devoted to belling the buffaloes. The Kota musicians are in attendance; crowds of Badagas and other natives come to see the ceremony; shopkeepers bring biscuits and sweetmeats to sell, and the whole scene presents the aspect of a fair. Pending the arrival of the buffaloes, the Todas do a little dancing, escort monigars* or other guests of importance in procession to the spot, chanting "Hoh! Hoh!" in the deepest bass possible to the human chest, hold Panchayats† for settling disputes, and otherwise amuse themselves. Occasionally a man who is liable to inspiration, throws off his *pûthuli* and begins tramping up and down a line of Todas, shaking his head and trembling, while communicating the wishes of the god. On one occasion when I was there, no less than three went through this performance, professing to be possessed by Bêti Khân, the hunting god, who, however, seemed to have little to say beyond a lamentation, in the *laudator temporis acti* spirit, over the degeneracy of modern Todas as evinced by the decreasing number of buffaloes slaughtered. At last the herd of buffaloes, two or three for each of the dead commemorated, are driven up to the kraal, near which stands the funeral house. As the buffaloes approach the entrance, a crowd of young Todas, throwing off their *pûthulis*, rush into the kraal with them, seize them, and tie one or more bells to the neck of each, the women meanwhile weeping profusely. Ordinarily this finishes the ceremonial part of the proceeding, and the rest of the day is spent in eating and amusement; but on the occasion before alluded to, the buffaloes, distressed by their bells, made a rush at the wall of the kraal, and, in spite of the efforts of some Kotas, who fought valiantly for their next day's dinner, five of them escaped, and had to be followed a mile or two and brought back. This untoward event further induced a quarrel between the Peikis and Todis, one of the former having in his excitement struck a Todi, who left the place in dudgeon, and was not appeased till many influential processions and much Kota music had been lavished on him.

The second day's ceremonies are the most important. The young men spend the morning in dancing in the kraal, to the great annoyance of the buffaloes. Every now and then three or four single out a particular buffalo and seize it, hanging on by the neck and horns, hold it for a few moments, and release it. This requires some nerve in the leader of the party, as he makes the first rush alone, and may be thrown down and trampled on before the others come to his assistance. Even when three or four are hanging on together, a buffalo will sometimes lift them all off their feet.

This, however, is only by way of passing the time; the actual ceremonies are begun by placing the *kêd*, wrapped in a new *pûthuli*, on the ground within the stone wall surrounding the *kêdmane*. Fifteen or twenty men stand round it, shouting "*Hah! hoh! êr kar ullamâ*," ("May the buffaloes and calves be well,") or words of that kind; and one after the other lays his right hand on the *kêd*, covered by the *pûthuli*, and bows so as to touch it with the forehead. The *kêd* is then carried to the entrance of the cattle kraal, where a hole has been dug, and where the relatives and

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* *Monigar*—properly *manigakâran*, the head man of a village.

† *Panchâyat*, a native court of arbitration consisting of five or more members, usually chosen by the parties themselves for the settlement of petty disputes.

1/2 [of the second or "dry" funeral -- Analyst]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

(2) Tying balls of thread and cowry shells on the arm of the corpse, just above the elbow; 764

(3) Setting fire to the funeral pyre, which was, on the present occasion, done by lighting a rag fed with ghi with a match.

The buffalo capture took place amid the usual excitement, and with freedom from accident; and, later in the day, the stalwart buffalo catchers turned up at the travellers' bungalow for a *pourboire* in return, as they said, for treating us to a good fight. The beasts selected for sacrifice were a full-grown cow and a young calf. As they were dragged near to the corpse, now removed from the arbour, butter was smeared over the horns, and a bell tied round the neck. The bell was subsequently removed by Kotas, in whose custody, it was said, it was to remain till the next day funeral. The death-blow, or rather series of blows, having been delivered with the butt end of an axe, the feet of the corpse were placed at the mouth of the buffalo. In the case of a male corpse, the right hand is made to clasp the horns. [It is recorded by Dr. Rivers that, at the funeral of a male, men dance after the buffalo is killed. In the dancing a tall pole, called tadri or tadrsi, decorated with cowry shells, is used.] The customary mourning in couples concluded, the corpse, clad in four cloths, was carried on the stretcher to a clear space in the neighbouring shola, and placed by the side of the funeral pyre, which had been rapidly piled up. The innermost cloth was black in colour, and similar to that worn by a palol. Next to it came a putkûli decorated with blue and red embroidery, outside which again was a plain white cloth covered over by a red cotton cloth of European manufacture. Seated by the side of the pyre, near to which I was courteously invited to take a seat on the stump of a rhododendron,

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764 [535]

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9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

term [keL] should not be used of such relationships with the Christian Todas.

In religion there has of course been a complete break. None of the tribal religious practices could have been fitted into the Christian pattern and there has been no attempt to do so, but rather a revulsion on the part of the missionaries from anything that smacked of the old religion (note however Miss Ling's acceptance of the attitude towards the church-bell mentioned above). This has gone so far that the missionaries who succeeded Miss Ling frowned on dancing. In the tribe the dancing is a part of every social occasion. It is performed at religious ceremonies, but also at funerals, ceremonies when the ears are pierced, weddings, and almost all other occasions when a number of the people gather. Even the children dance in play in the style of their elders (girls have been seen dancing as well as boys, though Toda women never dance). Miss Ling, realizing that the dance is not religious, looked with an indulgent eye on the dancing of the converts and in fact rather encouraged it than otherwise, with its accompanying extempore songs, at weddings, christenings and other joyous occasions. The missionaries in charge during the interregnum when Miss Ling was in England, with lack of insight and sympathy, forbad dancing. The reason given was that such a typically tribal activity would produce a hankering for other tribal customs and consequent backsliding from Christianity; possibly also a Puritanical attitude to dancing in general played its unacknowledged part. The effect that I observed however was that when the missionary guests retired from the scene of festivity, wedding or the like, dancing took place, and there resulted a regrettably un-Christian fostering of deceit and dislike of the missionaries in charge. It is to be observed that the Christian festivities are almost always attended by tribal Todas of the neighborhood and also by others from a greater distance who are related to the principals in Christian weddings and christenings. They are participants in the feasting and the males among them join with alacrity in the dancing.

The song-words that are composed during the dancing, as well as all other songs in the Toda language that are composed by the Christians, are of the tribal type and use the normal Toda technique of word and tune.[1] As most Toda songs are extempore and topical, so are the songs made by the Christians. There is an attempt to enlarge the verbal technique to embrace specifically Christian concepts and considering the rigidity of the conventions there are signs that the attempt will be suc-

[1] See my paper *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings American Philosophical Society 77. 543-580.

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

This incident, without the missionary influence, is typical of tribal matrimonial disputes; in the tribe there would have been no objection to the cross-cousin marriage taking place as a formality to be succeeded when the parties grew up by a *de facto* non-cross-cousin marriage with a fine known as [ter] paid as it was in this incident. The formal marriage was barred by Christian custom, but the succeeding events follow the tribal pattern of [ter]. It is noteworthy also that a respected man of the tribe was called in to adjudicate; this seems to be usual with the Christian community even in cases where disputes are not so closely bound up with social customs.

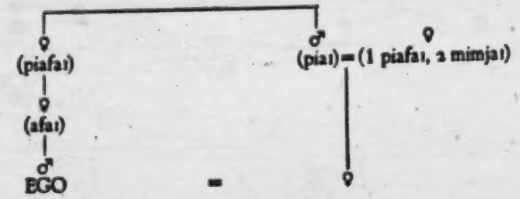
We have seen then that in spite of the outward break with tribal culture some elements of this culture have been retained by the Christian community. The tribal pastures are still resorted to by the Christians when there is too much pressure on their own pasturage, and in some cases at least hereditary economic partnerships with Kotas are kept up and even new ones formed. Economic relationships with the Badagas were of a different nature, consisting mainly of a sort of rent paid by the Badagas to the Todas; these relations have disappeared completely with reference to the Christian Todas. So also, so far as I know, the relations with the Kurumbas, who figure in the economic symbiosis chiefly as sorcerers, one of whom is paid by each Toda, Kota, and Badaga village to keep all other Kurumba sorcerers at bay (a crude insurance system known elsewhere in India against both castes of thieves and castes who are reputed to be sorcerers). Converts retain their Toda names, even though in the case of men these have tribal religious significance. The children born within the community, however, in general have no Toda names; when such names are given those of females follow the tribal pattern with its frequent poetic associations and those of males are in a measure assimilated to the female pattern with at least one quasi-suffixal element retained from the male pattern. The matrimonial incident recorded in the last paragraphs shows that there is an almost complete carry-over of tribal patterns in this sphere. Finally, a most important element is the retention of the tribal dance and song-technique. In the latter we have a verbalisation of thought and emotion expressed in the old familiar technique, with fairly successful attempts to adjust the rigid conventions to the new patterns, resulting in one case in a highly poetical expression of the Christian attitude to God in his role of creator and being to be worshipped by all creatures.

The Christian Todas can hardly be said to have reached a perfectly integrated state. It is interesting to speculate on what their future condition will be, though very unprofitable. The adult members of the

12; Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

Piɨldjnus (Pŭldenir, 21) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to pənus (Paners, 23). By an untraceable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle to the former and is called by him mumɑɪ. The wives of these men were sinmiɪr (Sinmir) married to piɨldjnus, and pæɪrgɦiɨj (Pergveli) married to pənus. If the men's relationship within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, sinmiɪr would have called pæɪrgɦiɨj grandmother (piɑfɑɪ). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, sinmiɪr should have called pæɪrgɦiɨj mimjɑɪ (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, sinmiɪr's mother oceɦiɨj (Achaveli, 43) was sister to pæɪrgɦiɨj, both being daughters of the same mother pumbuɪf. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, sinmiɪr called pæɪrgɦiɨj mother (ɑfɑɪ).

DIAGRAM 7



In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (piɑɪ) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (mumɑɪ). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (piɑfɑɪ), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (mimjɑɪ) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs has appeared in this discussion of the kinship terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous paper[14] to be that of regulating marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers;[15] an account of the rules regulating

[14] *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos.*

[15] Pp. 367-71. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. It grows long and is usually tied up in a knot in front so that it will not obscure the sight.

12: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

535 614 765 [648] [616] dancing will add somewhat to the treatment. Dancing takes place at weddings[16] and at such religious ceremonies as the giving of salt to the buffaloes (up-otjt), the rethatching of a dairy (poj-ful-fæst), and the prayer-ceremony at a chief mund[17] (mod-fortjt), as well as at such unusual social occasions as the reception of an important European visitor, the celebration under the patronage of the Governor of Madras by all the inhabitants of the Nilgiris of a Jubilee in the British royal family, large Badaga ceremonies which many Todas attend, etc. At such dances men from both moieties participate in the same dance. Men who may not dance are those who are mourning a death. (a) If the first funeral has not yet taken place, dancing is prohibited to those who are mourning the death of a man of the same patrilineal sib, of the same matrilineal sib, or of one who is called pojol, i.e., wife's father or brother, wife's father's brother, and conversely, daughter's husband, sister's husband, brother's daughter's husband (cf. p. 169). If the dead person is a woman, the prohibition affects, besides members of her matrilineal sib and her pojol, only those members of her father's patrilineal sib who belong to her immediate family. (b) If the first funeral has taken place, but mourning still obtains until the second funeral shall have been performed, no one may dance who is related to the dead person by relationship within the matrilineal sib, by the closest relationship within the patrilineal sib, i.e. by membership in the immediate family of the dead person, or by pojol relationship as in (a). In both (a) and (b), when a man is dead, dancing is prohibited for the husband and sons of the woman in the opposite moiety with whom he has had sexual relations of the "lover-mistress" type;[18] when a woman is dead, dancing is prohibited for the man in the opposite moiety with whom she has had "lover-mistress" relations, and for his sons.

[616] [837]

535 614 616 764 765 [837] Dancing also takes place at funerals, whether first or second. Normally only men are allowed to dance who belong to the other moiety than the one to which the dead person belonged. Here again the prohibitions indicated in the preceding paragraph hold with regard to people in the "lover-mistress" relationship to the dead person. And, of course, no person may dance who is mourning any other death. The rule permitting only men of the opposite moiety to dance is sometimes broken. At the funeral of some relatively unimportant person there may not be enough men of the opposite moiety present to dance, or at the funeral of a member of the ṉkitj, nirj, and puṉoir sibs of the tɔrɔs moiety, since the munds of these sibs are far from any munds of the tɔ̈ɔ̈ɓ̈j moiety. In this case members of the same moiety as the dead person will be permitted to dance, but no one who is mourning the dead

[843] [851] [621]

[16] There is no dancing at the ceremony when a man gives the toy bow and arrow to his wife during her pregnancy to legitimize the child (pəs-ṉɟt). At a ceremony of this kind which I attended with Mr C. P. Skrine, Agent of the Madras States and author of *Chinese Central Asia* (London, 1926), the men danced so that he should be able to see how it is done. The words composed during the dance were about myself and the ceremony was mentioned only as one in a list of ceremonies that I had seen.

[17] A mund (Toda word mod) is, throughout this paper, a dairy institution plus a dwelling place. The significance of "chief mund" (ur-ɨwɨ-mod) as opposed to other munds (mɨr-mod) has been explained in my paper *Toda Culture Thirty-five Years After* (Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 19, pp. 101–21, 1938), pp. 113–15.

[18] See reference in note 9 above.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojo‹ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same patrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noïkj which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kaɲniɾ (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter oɾliʒ had married piɾ‹kor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mörʒ patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kïɲ(ŧ)-kortpo‹ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the puɳ-uɾt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 320.